

Glasgow Weekly Times.

CLARK H. GREEN:

"ERROR CEASES TO BE DANGEROUS, WHEN REASON IS LEFT FREE TO COMBAT IT."—JEFFERSON.

EDITOR & PROPRIETOR.

Volume 11.

GLASGOW, MISSOURI, THURSDAY, JANUARY 16, 1851.

Number 46.

GLASGOW WEEKLY TIMES

PUBLISHED EVERY THURSDAY.
Office on Water Street, up Stairs, west door to the Glasgow House.

TERMS OF PUBLICATION.
For one year, if paid in advance, \$2 00
If not paid before the end of the year, 3 00
CLUBS.
5 copies 1 year in advance, 9 00
10 " " " " " " 15 00
20 " " " " " " 25 00
25 " " " " " " 28 00
30 " " " " " " 30 00

TERMS OF ADVERTISING.
One square, (12 lines or less) One Dollar for the first, and 50 cents for each subsequent insertion.
Liberal deductions made to Merchants and others who advertise by the year.
JOB PRINTING.
Of every description, executed with neatness and dispatch, on reasonable terms.
JUSTICES' BLANKS AND BLANK DEEDS.
Neatly executed, kept constantly on hand, and for sale low.

AGENTS FOR THIS PAPER.
V. B. PALMER, the American Newspaper Agent, is the only authorized Agent for this paper in the cities of Boston, New York and Philadelphia.
Fayette—Andrew J. Herndon
Huntsville—W. A. Samuel, G. H. Burckhart.
Bloomington—Thomas G. Sharp.
Lincoln—H. Wilkerson.
Cambridge—JOHN H. GROVE.

WE daily hear of the most astonishing cures being effected by that great and popular medicine, the genuine
H. G. FARRELL'S
ARABIAN LINIMENT,
The greatest remedy ever discovered for almost all complaints requiring an external application, either in man or beast. In the short length of time it has been introduced to the people of the United States, it has gained a reputation unequalled by any other medicine in the known world. Why is it? The answer is plain—because no medicine of the kind has ever been put before the public so deserving of the high honors it has acquired; and it will continue to gain friends as long as it performs the most extraordinary cures of various descriptions, after the doctors and all other remedies had failed. We do not only say that the genuine H. G. Farrell's Arabian Liniment can and does perform cures which no other medicine can do, but you have certificates here of what it has done.

Thaddeus Smith, of Mudd Creek, Tazewell Co., Ill., says:—“I had lost the use of my arm for more than a year, by palsy or paralysis; the flesh had entirely withered away, leaving nothing but skin, muscle and bone. I tried all the best doctors and all the remedies I could hear of, but they did no good. I then commenced the use of H. G. Farrell's Arabian Liniment, and a few bottles entirely cured me, and my arm is now as strong and fleshy as the other. It is also first rate for burns, sprains and bruises.”
The celebrated Doctor JAYNE, whose reputation as a benefactor to mankind extends over the whole world, reports that a lady of one of the first families in Philadelphia had been confined to her bed fourteen years with Rheumatism, and was cured by H. G. Farrell's Arabian Liniment. He also says—“Your Liniment is going rapidly; send me a supply immediately by Leeche's fast line.”
My daughter, when 6 months old, was taken with a swelling in the tonsils, which grew larger and larger, till when 6 years old she had great difficulty in swallowing her food. Every night watch was kept, fearing she would suffocate. The best doctors attended her, but could give no relief. I took her to the most eminent doctors in the east, they said there was no help for her but to cut out her tonsils. With a sad heart I returned home with her, when she became so much worse that the doctors had to be called in again; they decided that the tonsils must be cut out, as the only means of giving relief. My wife would not consent to this, and she determined to try your liniment, which gave relief the very first application, and by a continued use she entirely recovered. She is now 10 years old, and fleshy and healthy as could be desired.—Your Liniment is also the best in use for bruises, sprains, cuts, burns, headache, &c., and it will remove the most severe pain in a few moments. It also cures caked under in my own in a few days. GEO. FORD.
Peoria, March 29, 1849.

Mr. H. G. FARRELL—Your Arabian Liniment is the greatest medicine in the world for horse flesh. I had a mare about to foal, when she became so helpless that she could not rise from the ground; she was in this way for several days, when with the only way it could be done, when I commenced the use of your excellent liniment, rubbed in well over the loins, and astonishing as it may appear, before I used up a bottle of the dollar size, she was able to get up and walk herself. I would not have given ten dollars for her before, and many advised me to shoot her to get her out of misery; she is now one of my best mares. I suppose it was a strain in the loins. L. W. HUNT.
Peoria, Ill. July 2, 1849.

Look Out For Counterfeits!
As they are in circulation. The true and only genuine H. G. Farrell's Arabian Liniment always reads with the H. G. initials, before Farrell's, thus, “H. G. Farrell's Arabian Liniment,” and his signature is also on the label of the bottle, and these words are blown in the glass bottle. “H. G. Farrell's Liniment, Peoria.” Do not touch any other and look well before you purchase, or you will get imposed upon.

Manufactured only by H. G. Farrell, inventor and proprietor, and wholesale druggist, No. 17 Main Street, Peoria, Ill., to whom all communications must be addressed; and for sale by O. Henderson, Glasgow; H. Blakley & Co. St. Louis, and by regular agents throughout the United States.
Call and get a Farrier Book, free of charge December 3, 1850.—(13137.)

THE TIMES

PLANK ROAD MEETING.

Pursuant to adjournment a large and intelligent meeting of the citizens of Howard county, convened in the Court House, in Fayette, on Monday, the 6th inst., to take into consideration the question of constructing Plank Roads.

G. ROBINSON, Esq. was called to the Chair, and ANDREW COOPER, Esq. appointed Secretary; when W. F. Birch submitted the following proposition:
Resolved, That a committee be appointed to memorialize the General Assembly to grant authority to the County Court of Howard County, to incorporate any number of Citizens who may desire to construct a Plank Road, from any point, to any point, in said County, and that upon said company satisfying said Court that they have subscribed and secured an amount of money sufficient to build one half, then the Court shall order an election to decide whether the county shall subscribe the residue.

F. A. Savage, submitted the following as a substitute:
“As the sense of this meeting, that application be made to the Legislature to incorporate a Plank Road Company from Glasgow to Fayette; a company from Fayette to the county line, in view of its termination in Rochefort; and a company from Fayette, to a point on the river near Booneville, and to provide that the sense of the voters of the County be taken by the County Court, whether one half the stock in said companies shall be subscribed by the county, upon the other half being taken and secured by individuals.”

Which was rejected, and J. W. Henry, offered the following:

“That it is the sense of this meeting that the people of Howard County would be benefitted by a Plank Road from Fayette to some point on the Missouri river, convenient to Booneville, and that we will petition the Legislature for a charter for said road.”

Which was rejected; and then the proposition of W. F. Birch was adopted.

W. F. Birch, Abel Leonard, and R. T. Prewitz, were appointed a committee to memorialize the General Assembly, and the meeting adjourned.

G. ROBINSON, Chairman.
ANDREW COOPER, Sec'y.

ELECTION OF SPEAKER.

Gen. Watkins was chosen Speaker on the 22d ballot, by the following vote.

FOR N. W. WATKINS:—Messrs. Allen, of St. Louis, Abeles, Bailey, Bates, Black, Botts, Burden, Burris, Campbell, Christy, Crockett, Coffey, Culver, Devel, Dewitt, Draper, Dunn, Frost, Garth, Gregg, Hatten, Hawkins, Hatcher, Harper, Hicks, Huston, Hunter, Horner, Holmes, Lane, Maupin, Minor, McFarland, McGarey, McPherson, Newland, Offutt, Patterson, Porter, Prichard, Richardson, Ringo, Roberts, Robinson, Roussin, Sanford, Sanders, Scott, Seebree, Shackelford, Shelby, Smith, of Linn, Smith, of St. Louis, Steele, Stephens, Swetnam, Tate, Tindall, Thompson, Tompkins, Tutt, Ward, Webb, Wilgus, and Wilson—65.

FOR J. D. STEVENSON:—Messrs. Allen of Harrison, Baughman, Bennett, Bryan, Burnes, Cooper, Conway, Cock, Emerson, Enloe, Fant, Fawcett, Fisher, Frazier, Fulkerson of C.; Fulkerson, of J., Goodson, Hammond, Hamer, Henderson, Human, Jennings, Johnson, Jones, Kelly, King, LaForce, Lewis, Lindsay, Miller, Morrow, Myers, McFall, Pemberton, Pitts, Riddle, Rowden, Ruble, Shields, Sims, Simmers, Tiffin, and Williams—43.

FOR MR. ROBINSON:—Messrs. Benjamin and Kennett—2.

FOR F. KENNETT:—Messrs. Buford, Doherty, Neill, Rowland and Watkins—5.

FOR MR. KELLY:—Mr. Stevenson. ABSENT—Chilton, Clark, Douthit, Harrison, Harris, Hill, Huett, Howell, Moore, Peery, Reid, and Walker.

Upon taking the Chair, Gen. W. GENTLEMEN: The station to which your kindness has called me, is one of great responsibility, and one which claims from the incumbent, every exer-

tion in his power to fill its varied and important duties. I am sensible of my want of experience, for the last ten or twelve years, in parliamentary proceedings, but I bring with me a reasonable portion of health, and a firm determination so to act as to merit, in some small degree, the honor you have been pleased to confer upon me.

We have lived, gentlemen, and still live in times of high party excitement, when it is to be feared the true interests of the country have been lost sight of and merged in that of mere party, “Whig” and “Democrat.” Let us hope that this state of things may pass away, at least as far as State policy is concerned.

Missouri, whether we consider her vast extent of territory, her rich and varied soil, capable of producing all the necessities and many of the luxuries of life, her great mineral wealth, exceeding that of California itself; or her relative situation to the other States of the Union, occupying the centre of this great valley, midway between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and immediately upon the line of the great railroad, which is to unite them; is destined to be one of the greatest if not the greatest State in the whole confederacy.

To develop these resources, to bring them into useful and active operation, to place every section of the State upon an equality as near as may be, by a just and economical system of internal improvements; to re-organize the Judiciary, so that justice may be administered alike in all parts of the State, to regulate the finances of the State on a just and proper basis so as to meet the necessary wants of the country, are some among the many important duties devolving upon us.

Let us hope that we may so act, as to do credit to ourselves, give satisfaction to our constituents, and promote the interests of the State. And as order and decorum is necessary in every relation of life, and none more so than that of a deliberative body, I feel assured, that I shall meet with your hearty and unanimous co-operation in every legitimate attempt which I make to preserve and enforce it. In conclusion, permit me to return to you my most sincere thanks for the distinguished honor you have been pleased to confer upon me.

SENATE COMMITTEES.

On the 4th, the President announced the Standing Committees of Senate, as follows:
On Judiciary—Messrs. Jones of F. Ellison, Leslie, Broadhead and Winston.

On Education—Messrs. Ellison, Noell, Williams, Flournoy and Reed.

On Ways and Means—Messrs. Jackson of Howard, Miller, Crow, Leslie and Chew.

On Claims—Messrs. Burtis, Williams, Mason, Brooking and Rannels.

On Internal Improvements—Messrs. Allen of St. Louis, Stewart, Griffin, Roberts, and Brooking.

On Agriculture—Messrs. Vernon, Jones, of C., Stout, Drake and Noell.

On Elections—Messrs. Stewart, White, Polk, Allen, of St. Charles, and Young.

On Militia—Messrs. Griffin, Noell, Polk, Mason and Drake.

On Accounts—Messrs. Noell, Jackson, of R., Hudspeth, Burtis and Chew.

On Engraved Bills—Messrs. Griffin, Allen, of St. C., Rannels, Miller and Robinson.

On Enrolled Bills—Messrs. Polk, Jones, of F., Jackson, of H., Allen, of St. L., and Williams.

On Seat of Government—Messrs. Miller, Crow, Reed, Vernon and Hudspeth.

On Penitentiary—Messrs. James, Rannels, Roberts, Allen, of St. Louis, and Jackson, of Howard.

On Unfinished Business—Messrs. Roberts, Vernon, Brooking, Polk and Young.

On State Lands—Messrs. Robinson, White, James, Winston and Broadhead.

On Roads and Highways—Messrs. Mason, Stout, Flournoy, Drake, and Allen of St. Louis.

On Federal Relations—Messrs. Leslie, Miller, Ellison, Winston and White.

On Lunatic Asylum—Messrs. Reed,

Ellison, Jones of F., Broadhead and Jackson of R.

On Banks and Corporations—Messrs. James, Crow, Chew, Jones, of C., and Stout.

EXTRACTS FROM THE GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE, Omitted last Week.

THE UNION.

The hopes of our fathers, the stay and support of the present generation, and the fond anticipations of the future, are all bound up and rest upon the perpetuity of our blessed Union.

Our fathers set the first example the world ever saw, of a government deliberately formed by the people for their own mutual protection, and made to depend entirely on them for its support. I but speak the sentiments of Missouri, when I declare my veneration for it, and for the Union, which is the main pillar in the edifice of our real independence.

No subject is likely ever to arise, out of which are to follow such fatal consequences as that of the agitation of the slavery question in Congress. It was hoped by the lovers of the Union, everywhere, that an end was put to this agitation, by the measures adopted by the last Congress. But in this, it seems, we are doomed to disappointment.—Northern abolitionists and southern nullifiers and secessionists seem to vie with each other in their efforts to produce disasters fatal to the Union.

The conduct of the abolitionist, sustained as they are by political demagogues, in reference to the law for the recapture of fugitive slaves, is such as to excite just apprehensions for the stability of the Union. Although that law is one of the series of enactments, designed by Congress to restore harmony among the different sections of the Union, still it cannot properly be termed, of itself, an act of compromise, in which mere conflicting interests were adjusted by mutual concessions. Its passage was but the discharge of a solemn duty to the slaveholding States—a duty enjoined by the constitution, from which Congress could not shrink without a total disregard of an imperative obligation.

It rests for its support, not solely upon the good faith to observe it, which springs from its connection with other measures recently passed, connected with the question of slavery, but if taken separately, as an independent measure, upon the absolute and unqualified duty imposed by the constitution on every good citizen to conform to its provisions without cavil or evasion. In sitting upon the rigid execution of that law, and its continuance in full force on the statute book, the people of the slaveholding States assert only a plan constitutional right, guaranteed to them when they entered the Union, and of which they cannot be deprived as long as the constitution and Union stand. Hence all assaults upon that law—all efforts to prevent its execution—all movements to deprive the south of its benefits, whether dictated by morbid sympathy with the fugitive slave, or by hostility to the system of domestic slavery as it exists—are aimed directly at the constitution, and consequently the perpetuity of the Union. But may we not hope that the recent opposition to that law, exhibited in some northern States, will receive no important aid from the masses? However silent the people of those States were for a time, when duty required them to rebuke promptly the spirit of fanaticism and rebellion raging in their midst, a re-action appears to have commenced, and to a considerable extent, the reflecting and patriotic manifest a determination to observe the farewell injunction of Washington, by “frowning indignantly upon the first dawning of [this] attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, and to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.”

To the patriotism of the north the whole country turns at this time, to ascertain whether the jarring elements of discord are to be hushed. No sacrifice of honor, or duty, or interest, is asked, but merely obedience to, and enforcement of, the most sacred obligations which the highest forms of law can impose. We have a right to expect this, and to ask that the spirit of injustice, insubordination, and disunion shall be quelled in the north as well as in the south, and that the cause of hostility shall be speedily and effectually eradicated by the cessation of all further agitation on the subject. We have a right to expect that, animated by kindred sentiments of devotion to the Union, the people of the north will repress fanaticism, roll back the rising tide of dissolution—uphold the constitution and laws, and declare with the potent voice of the popular will, that “the Union must and shall be preserved.” If this is done, the storm will pass, and the Union emerge, unimpaired, from all the dangers in which it has been plunged. No state will rejoice at such a result with more sincerity and joy than Missouri.

The agitation of the slavery question in the south, has assumed a much more important character than can be ascribed to it elsewhere. It has put to the test the moral force and strength of our Union, and forced the public mind to consider the importance of its preservation, and to review and fix the attention upon the causes which induced the fathers of the revolution to enter into that compact or agreement, which resulted in its formation.

After our declaration of independence, the necessity for a league or confederation of the states, was so apparent that the states, in their sovereign capacity, adopted the articles of confederation, which were supposed to possess all the elements necessary to carry out and perpetuate the principles of self-government, they had declared their intention to set up.

It was soon ascertained that the articles of confederation, in the working of the system, constituted but a mere league between the states formed, it is true, for a common purpose, but each state having the right to judge for itself—not by its members in the Congress of the confederacy, but in its separate organization—of the propriety of any measure intended for the common benefit of all; and by the refusal of one state, or a combination of two or more states, the most important act of the Congress of the confederacy, could in effect be nullified. It soon became apparent that our system of government was but the reproduction of one of those petty leagues which had been often formed in the old world but to perish.

The incompetency of the confederation to provide for the credit and wants of the country, at once satisfied the true patriots, who lived at that eventful period of our history, of the necessity of a radical change in the system. A change was accomplished in the adoption of the constitution of the United States. And in order to get rid of the evil which grew out of the association of sovereign states, under the articles of confederation, it was declared in the preamble to the constitution that “We, the people of the United States,” thus we see that it was “made in the name and by the authority of the people of the United States, whose delegates framed, and whose conventions approved it.” Its legitimate objects and purposes were declared to be, to form a more perfect union—to establish Justice—to insure domestic tranquility—to provide for the common defence—to promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to the people. These, it was thought, could be best accomplished by the formation of three separate and distinct departments of the government—the executive—legislative—and judicial. The powers of the two first, fixed and prescribed, and the latter invested with full power to judge of the compatibility, with the constitution, of the joint legislative acts of the two former. Thus it was intended, that the fatal error so manifest in the articles of confederation, should be avoided, and that acts passed by the legislative department and approved by the executive, should not be subject to be nullified or resisted by the separate action of any one or more of the states composing the Union, but their constitutionality is to be determined by the judicial department. And as a rule by which to test all laws, the constitution is made the supreme law of the land, and laws in conflict with it are only to be set at naught by the courts.

If a law is passed by Congress—approved by the President—and declared to be in accordance with the constitution, by the courts, then all good citizens will abide its mandates, however inconvenient and oppressive they may be, until resort is had to another remedy, constitutional in its character—conservative in its purpose, and if the evil be intolerable—certain in its accomplishment. I mean the remedy afforded by the ballot box. This is a remedy known of the constitution, and with which all good citizens will be satisfied. Any other remedy must be revolutionary in its character and subversive of our government.

A remarkable instance of the success of this latter remedy occurred shortly after the adoption of the constitution, and shows in a striking manner the working of our system of government. During the administration of John Adams, the alien and sedition laws were passed by congress, approved by the President and sustained by the Judiciary. The members of the Republican party of that day, with Mr. Jefferson at their head, declared their opinion to be, that these laws were unconstitutional. But did they attempt to nullify them by remedy outside of the constitution? Far from it. Mr. Jefferson, then the Vice

President, remained at his post, but urged and induced Mr. Madison and other republicans, to leave the halls of Congress—go home to their respective states—agitate the question among the people, go into the State Legislatures, and there concentrate public sentiment and bring it to bear upon these laws. In a word, to bring about such a political revolution as would sweep them from the statute book.

Out of these and other kindred measures, grew the memorable contest of 1800, which ended in the elevation of Mr. Jefferson to the presidency, and the repeal of those obnoxious laws.—Mr. Jefferson never sanctioned a resort to any other remedy than those known to the constitution, for what he believed to be a great grievance inflicted upon the country.

The sages and patriots of the Virginia legislature, who in '98 declared the alien and sedition laws to be unconstitutional, intended nothing more than the expression of an opinion, which they were then seeking to verify by the means allowed by the constitution.

It was fortunate for the fame of these distinguished patriots, that Mr. Madison was alive in 1830, when nullification was first advocated as a mode of resistance to supposed unconstitutional laws, and the Virginia resolutions of '98 quoted as authority for such a position. He, who had drafted these resolutions, felt it due to his own fame, as well as of his compatriots on that occasion, that their acts should not be quoted as giving countenance to any movement which might end in treason against the government.

The letter of Mr. Madison, written in 1830, to the editor of the North American Review, is so full an exposition of the object and intent of the resolutions of '98, that I cannot forbear a quotation from it. He repudiates the principles of nullification, and sustains these resolutions in the following extract: “Between these different constitutional governments, the one operating in all the states, the other operating separately in each, with the aggregate powers of government divided between them, it could not escape attention that controversies would arise concerning the boundaries of jurisdiction, and that provision ought to be made for such occurrences. A political system that does not provide for a peaceable and authoritative termination of occurring controversies, would not be more than the shadow of a government, the object and end of a real government being the substitution of law and order, for uncertainty, confusion and violence.

The constitution has expressly declared: 1st. That the constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; 2d. That the judges of every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution and laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding; 3d. That the judicial power of the United States shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under the constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made under the authority, &c.

“The constitution is a compact; its text is to be expounded according to the provisions for expounding it, making a part of the compact; and none of the parties can rightly renounce the expounding provision more than any other part.”

“That the legislature of Virginia could not have intended to sanction such a doctrine, is to be inferred from the debates in the House of Delegates, and from the address of the two houses to their constituents, on the subject of these resolutions. The tenor of the debates, which were ably conducted, and are understood to have been revised for the press by most, if not all of the speakers, discloses no reference whatever to a constitutional right of an individual state to arrest by force, the operation of a law of the U. States.—Concert among the states for redress against the alien and sedition laws, as acts of usurped power, was a leading sentiment; and the attainment of the concert the immediate object of the course adopted by the legislature, which was that of inviting the other states to concur in declaring the acts to be unconstitutional, and to co-operate, by the necessary and proper measures, in maintaining unimpaired the authority, rights and liberties reserved to the states respectively, and to the people. That by the necessary and proper measures to be concurrently and co-operatively taken were meant measures known of the constitution particularly the ordinary control of the people and legislatures of the states over the government of the United States, cannot be doubted.

“It is worthy of remark, and explanatory of the intentions of the legislature, that the words ‘not law, but utterly null, void, and of no force or effect,’ which had followed in one of the

resolutions, the word ‘unconstitutional,’ were stricken out by common consent. Though the words were, in fact, but synonymous with ‘unconstitutional,’ yet to guard against a misunderstanding of this phrase, as more than declaratory of opinion, the word ‘unconstitutional’ alone was retained as not liable to that danger.

“The published address of the legislature to the people, their constituents, affords another conclusive evidence of its views. The address warns them against the encroaching spirit of the general government; argues the constitutionality of the alien and sedition acts; points to other instances in which the constitutional limits had been overleaped, dwells upon the dangerous mode of deriving power by implication; and in general professes the necessity of watching over the consolidating tendency of the federal policy. But nothing is said that can be understood to look to means of maintaining the rights of the states beyond the regular ones, within the forms of the constitution.

“Had the resolutions been regarded as avowing and maintaining a right in an individual State, to arrest by force, the execution of a law of the United States, it must be presumed that it would have been a conspicuous object of their denunciation.

The rights of the slave owner within the States, are secured by a plain constitutional provision, and with these, the general government have never interfered. The power of Congress to legislate upon the subject of slavery in the territories, is the point out of which the whole controversy has arisen. This power is not among those expressly granted by the constitution, and is to be derived, if at all, by a necessary implication and construction from some one of the expressly delegated powers. Upon this point a difference of opinion exists. There are eminent statesmen, whose opinions are entitled to great weight and consideration, who claim this power; and the many repeated acts of the government, in its various departments, give force and effect to this position. While others, whose opinions are equally entitled to be respected, deny the existence of the power.

Before the adoption of the constitution, the ordinance of 1787 had been passed, which disposed of the question of slavery in all the territory then belonging to the United States. The silence of the convention which adopted the constitution, and which was in session at the time of the passage of the ordinance, upon the manner of the disposition of this territory, when the question of the rights of slave owners was under consideration, furnishes a strong reason to believe that there was a silent acquiescence in it, and that the convention did not look to the subject of slavery further than it existed in the States at the time. Taking this view of the subject, and our government being one of strictly limited delegated powers, I am unwilling to derive the power by a doubtful implication.

In this conflict of opinion, what is to be done? There is but one safe course to pursue—non-intervention—no agitation of the subject in any manner by the general government. Let there be no law admitting or prohibiting slavery in the territories. If, however, Congress does legislate upon the subject, neither nullification nor secession is the rightful constitutional remedy. In the language of Mr. Madison, “The constitution is a compact; its text is to be expounded according to the provisions for expounding it, making a part of the compact, and none of the parties can rightly renounce the expounding provision more than any other part.”

The constitution declares “that the judicial power of the United States extends to all cases in law and equity, arising under the constitution, the laws of the United States,” &c. This question can only grow out of a law of the United States, and for its proper exposition, we should resort to the judicial power, which is concentrated in the Supreme Court. This I conceive to be the constitutional doctrine, and it admits of neither secession, nullification, nor dissolution of the Union.

The right of secession can only be claimed upon a principle which lies at the foundation of our political existence; that is, when oppression becomes so intolerable that forcible resistance and revolution, is the only remedy for the evil. We are at an immeasurable distance from this point of provocation, and if secession is attempted, it will be an attempt at revolution; it will be a violation of the constitution, and subversion of the Union. The President will then have no other alternative, under his oath to protect and defend the constitution, than to use the force of the government to put down the revolution. I will not contemplate the consequences which are to follow such scenes, but recur with pleasure to the calm which now temporarily pervades the country, as affording a fit opportunity for all good citizens to appreciate the value of the Union, which, by the conservative principles of our constitution, so emphatically constitute us one people—an opportunity in which all should resolve, with sleepless vigilance to guard it, not only as the citadel from whence it is to be defended, which under Divine Providence is not only to perpetuate our own safety and happiness as American citizens, but likewise constitute us the great examples of nations.